

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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R 141550Z DEC 76  
FM AMCONSUL MUNICH  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7872  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MUNICH 3095

EXDIS  
STADIS////////////////////  
FOR EUR ARMITAGE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-4  
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, PO  
SUBJECT: POLISH DISSIDENT ADDRESSES "APPEAL" TO USG

1. SUMMARY: A MEMBER OF "COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE WORKERS," MEETING AT HIS REQUEST WITH RFE OFFICIALS, HAS ADDRESSED APPEAL TO USG TO INDICATE PUBLICLY THAT USG IS WATCHING DOMESTIC SITUATION IN POLAND "WITH INTEREST." SUCH AN APPEAL WOULD BE CONSTRUED BY COMMITTEE MEMBERS AS INDICATION OF SUG INTEREST IN PROGRESS TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM IN POLAND AS WELL AS SIGNAL OF USG SUPPORT FOR COMMITTEE'S EFFORTS TO CONVINCE GIEREK AND OTHER POLISH LEADERS THAT DEMANDS OF POLISH PEOPLE CANNOT RPT NOT BE DISREGARDED. COMMITTEE IS NOT RPT NOT AWARE THAT ITS APPEAL IS BEING CONVEYED VIA THIS CHANNEL, AND DOES NOT RPT NOT EXPECT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT APPEAL HAS BEEN RECEIVED. END SUMMARY.

2. JAMES F. BROWN, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, RFE, AND ZYGMUNT MICHALOWSKI, HEAD, POLISH BROADCASTING DEPARTMENT, RFE (PROTECT BOTH), MET WITH ADAM MICHNIK, MEMBER OF COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE WORKERS, IN LONDON DECEMBER 5 AT LATTER'S REQUEST. MICHNIK, WHO REPORTEDLY HAS OFFICIAL PERMISSION TO REMAIN ABROAD UNTIL MAY 1977, OUTLINED HIS VIEWS OF POLISH INTERNAL SITUATION AND U.S.-POLISH RELATIONS, AND ADDRESSED AN APPEAL TO USG.

3. POLISH INTERNAL SITUATION. TO MICHNIK AND HIS COLLEAGUES,  
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THE CHARACTERISTIC WHICH DISTINGUISHES A GOOD COMMUNIST LEADER

FROM A BAD ONE IS WHETHER HE IS CAPABLE OF UNDERSTANDING THAT YIELDING TO SOME POPULAR DEMANDS DOES NOT RPT NOT MEAN POLITICAL SUICIDE OR SERIOUS LOSS OF FACE. THE ONLY COMMUNIST LEADER TO YIELD TO DEMANDS FROM BELOW SO FAR HAS BEEN GIEREK WHO DID SO IN CASES OF BALTIC SHIPYARDS AND LODZ. THIS PAST JUNE GIEREK BACKED AWAY FROM HIS "NEW LINE" TOWARD POPULATION AND PERMITTED WORKERS' DEMONSTRATION TO BE GREETED WITH POLICE REPRISALS. AS RESULT, THERE IS NOW A NEW SITUATION IN POLAND, ONE IN WHICH GIEREK IS NOT MEETING THE PEOPLE'S DEMANDS. PROGRAM OF MICHNIK AND HIS COLLEAGUES IS TO WORK WITHIN EXISTING POLISH SYSTEM FOR REVERSION BY REGIME TO POLICY OF OPENNESS TOWARD DEMANDS OF PEOPLE. MICHNIK CLAIMS HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES UNDERSTAND NECESSITY OF WORKING WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF SOVIET POWER AND COMMUNIST INSTITUTIONS. MICHNIK BELIEVES THAT GIEREK IS LEADER BEST QUALIFIED TO LEAD POLAND ON THIS NEW COURSE.

4. U.S.- POLISH RELATIONS. MICHNIK NOTES THAT U.S. HAS BEEN AND REMAINS IMMENSELY POPULAR IN POLAND AS LAND OF FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY. HE CLAIMS THAT PRESIDENT FORD'S VISIT TO POLAND IN 1975 WAS INTERPRETED BY THINKING POLES AS USG RECOGNITION AND SEAL OF APPROVAL FOR THE PRAGMATIC APPROACH TO POLAND'S PROBLEMS WHICH GIEREK THEN REPRESENTED. NOW THAT NEW SITUATION IN WHICH GIEREK IS NO RPT NO LONGER FOLLOWING THIS COURSE HAS ARISEN, USG MUST, IN VIEW OF MICHNIK AND HIS COLLEAGUES, MAKE GESTURE DESIGNED (A) TO CORRECT "BALANCE," WHICH GIEREK HAS UNDERMINED, IN COURSE TO WHICH USG GAVE SEAL OF APPROVAL; AND (B) DEMONSTRATE THAT USG IS INTERESTED IN PROGRESS TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM ON POLAND. USG SHOULD SUPPORT THE MOVEMENT REPRESENTED BY COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE WORKERS IN ORDER TO PRESERVE U.S. IMAGE IN POLAND AND BECAUSE IT IS IN U.S. INTEREST FROM POINT OF VIEW OF U.S. ADVOCACY OF FREEDOM AND IN TERMS OF "REAL POLITIQUE." U.S. SUPPORT SHOULD NOT RPT NOT, HOWEVER, BE TOO OVERT OR BLATANT.

5. MICHNIK'S "APPEAL" - EMPHASIZING THAT HE WAS SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF HIS FELLOW COMMITTEE MEMBERS, MICHNIK APPEALED TO USG TO MAKE TWO TYPES OF GESTURE WHICH, HE INDICATED, WOULD BE CONSTRUED BY COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND THEIR SYMPATHIZERS AS "SIGNAL" OF SUPPORT: (A) INCLUSION OF TWO OR THREE COMMITTEE

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MEMBERS IN LIST OF POLES TO BE INVITED TO OFFICIAL RECEPTIONS OR LUNCHEONS GIVEN BY EMBASSY WARSAW (MICHNIK STRESSED THAT COMMITTEE MEMBERS SHOULD BE INVITED IN THEIR PROFESSIONAL CAPACITIES (I.E. FILM DIRECTOR, ETC.); (B) MORE IMPORTANTLY, ISSUANCE OF STATEMENT (PERHPAS IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION FROM PRESS) BY DEPARTMENT PRESS SPOKESMAN THAT USG IS WATCHING DOMESTIC SITUATION IN POLAND WITH "INTEREST" (NOT RPT NOT "SYMPATHY").

6. COMMENT: THE RFE OFFICIALS HAD CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT MICHNIK WAS ACTING AS UNOFFICIAL SPOKESMAN FOR COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE WORKERS. HE CLEARLY EXPECTED THAT HIS "APPEAL" WOULD REACH USG. MICHNIK HAS NO RPT NO KNOWLEDGE OF CHANNEL BY WHICH APPEAL IS BEING TRANSMITTED AND EXPECTS NO RPT NO ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF ITS RECEIPT.

7. INTERESTINGLY, MICHNIK INDICATED THAT HE APPRECIATES RFE'S WORK BUT DOES NOT RPT NOT DESIRE TO "COOPERATE" WITH RFE.  
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